Letter from Professor Newman.

To W. Lloyd Garrison.

London, October 14/64.

Dear Sir—

167 I have this morning received the "Liberator" of Sept. 30th. It contains many grave misapprehensions of my posture of mind towards Mr Lincoln; but I think it now quite unwise to pursue the argument.

When a President becomes a candidate, his career & conduct must be criticised, as freely as if he were not President, by those who hope for an abler & more suitable leader of the nation; yet, abstractedly, such criticism is very undesirable. Towards the Chief Magistrate, as towards our Queen, it is better, where admissible, to maintain decorous silence concerning personal errors. From the day that Mr Lincoln is the best candidate in the list, it would be unpatriotic in an American citizen, and blamable in me, to shout aloud for the imperfect, instead of making the best of the possible.

¶ I have always held it as a fixed certainty, that the lovers of freedom among you would never allow themselves at the last to be divided, & thereby give advantage to the party of slavery. For this very reason, I deprecated your course, when I began to understand it. But I am sure that you have had the purest intentions, & I ask your pardon if I spoke too abruptly. As regards the better side of Mr Lincoln's character and action, it is possible that I esteem it as highly as you do. But the crisis in which he ~~has to~~ is placed may implicate you in dire calamity, through any tenderness towards slave-owners, or their laws, which is to be indulged at the expense of the coloured race. If I were an American voter, I should unhesitatingly give vote & interest & voice & pen now to Mr Lincoln, & against any candidate who would accept ~~any~~ other terms from rebels than unconditional submission initiated by themselves, as it were on their knees. But I would at the same time implore all who

love the Union, and wish the war to be succeeded by true, sound peace, in which every State shall be loyal, to continue vigilant & suspicious of the administration, until it preaches the political equality of human races as a doctrine; and shows its sincerity by treating all citizens as citizens, whatever their colour.

I am not a doctrinaire Democrat, for America any more than for England. ~~desire to take~~ It is not for me to play the politician, & dictate what forms of government are best; but as a moralist, I say strongly, & if necessarily sternly, that you must not abandon your coloured citizens to local oppression, nor allow colour to be in any sense of political import, unless you desire a renewal of God's terrible chastisements.

I trust that we may count that you and all Abolitionists will unite your forces to insist that the administration and its war office shall become active supporters of equal justice to all races. You have yourself yet, I trust, a great part to play; for there is a great battle to fight: & you

it will now be fought against potent influences in the cabinet,

I have sincerely rejoiced in the recent Federal successes; though with less of exultation, because I have never doubted your success; yet the capture of Atlanta was success in a form which I had not dared to anticipate, and it is to me an omen that the end does indeed draw nigh: for which I shall feel no measure of delight & thankfulness, if you crown your victories by justice. You will, I am sure, not be displeased, that I regard the future of the human race now to depend more upon the United States than on England: — so have our aristocracy chosen to have it, when they might have led the world: — therefore it is that I assume all brotherly freedom, as though I were one of your citizens. Nor will you rejoice more than I at any future great & good acts of President Lincoln, such as, I trust, he will perform by your aid and urgency. ¶ I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir, Sincerely yours,

F. W. Newman